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# Historical Analysis of Population Reactions to Stimuli - a Case Study of Fiji

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study provides a baseline investigation for determining population reactions to stimuli in a historical context. Historical data analysis and qualitative data analysis techniques are applied to events of the last 1500 years in Fiji. Links and trends between events and stimuli are produced giving a preliminary dataset for any future trends impact analysis. In addition, some general population reactions for this country are established.

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# Historical Analysis of Population Reactions to Stimuli - a Case Study of Fiji

## Executive Summary

Non-combatant populations, particularly in urban environments, can impact on fighting or peacekeeping elements in military conflicts. As such, understanding the stimuli which have in the past caused (and hence might cause) the population to act in a particular way, resulting in some event, can give insights into how they might react in the future provided there are sufficient historical trends. These events may range from insurgences<sup>1</sup> through assisting/supporting one side in a conflict to popular support of a group or ideal.

This report is the fifth in a series of historical analyses of stimuli and effects (as events) in regional populations. The first four studies focussed on East Timor, Aceh, Papua New Guinea and Papua, and the Solomon Islands, and helped to develop the methodology and basic framework for analysis. The intent of these studies is to identify probable generic causes of the population reactions over a large time period and determine if there are trends or patterns of behaviour over that period.

In this work, key drivers, trends and stimuli have been identified for Fiji and the study was undertaken prior to the events of 2006. Additionally, lessons learned have been discussed, and interestingly there is a strongly embedded societal memory, as found in East Timor, Aceh and the Solomon Islands. Finally, the high level of historical hostilities within the population suggests that violence may re-occur in the future. The outcomes of this work provide qualitative data for use in operations, wargames or training exercises. They are aimed at providing contextual information and guidance on socio cultural issues for planners in multi-agency operations in the region.

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<sup>1</sup> Insurgences are defined as riots, rebellions or revolts by the Macquarie Dictionary 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition.

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## Glossary

ADF	Australian Defence Force
FLP	Fiji Labour Party
LT COL	Lieutenant Colonel
MP	Minister of Parliament
PNG	Papua New Guinea
RFMF	Republic of Fiji Military Forces
RTU	Reconciliation Tolerance and Unity Bill

# 1. Introduction

Previous reports [1-4] have discussed the impact that non-combatant populations can have on Australian Defence Force (ADF) operations, particularly in urban environments. Indeed, the success or failure of an operation may depend on the reactions of the civilian population, and as such, the study of population reactions becomes a matter of importance.

These reports [1-4] have demonstrated that valuable insights can be obtained by analysing the stimuli which have in the past resulted in reactions from the population (thereby creating an **event**). These events may range from insurgencies<sup>1</sup> through assisting/supporting one side in a conflict to popular support of a group or ideal. Hence, understanding the **stimuli**<sup>2</sup> which have in the past caused (and hence might **cause**) the population to act in a particular way, resulting in some event, can give insights into how they might react in the future, provided there are sufficient historical trends.

This report is the fifth historical analysis of stimuli and effects of populations in the South East Asian/South West Pacific region, which was identified as of particular interest to Australia in the 2000 Defence White Paper and the 2003 National Security Update [5, 6]. Fiji falls in this region as well as having a well documented history of coups, insurgencies and violence. A timeline of these events for Fiji is in Appendix A<sup>3</sup>.

This study provides insights into how this population have reacted to past stimuli, which may have both operational and strategic applications. The resulting qualitative data could be used in war games or training exercises where the input of the reaction of a population is from a real environment. Additionally, these studies provide baseline data for futures studies, regional assessments and comparisons. They are aimed at providing contextual information and guidance on socio-cultural issues for planners in multi agency operations in the region.

## 2. Methodology

The methodology used in this report is similar to that used in previous reports [1-4]. Because this methodology has been explained in detail previously, only a brief description is included here.

This work uses a multidisciplinary approach taken from such disciplines as operations research, political science, anthropology and qualitative historical analysis. These methods were used to extract stimuli and events from qualitative data that was obtained from a broad literature search on Fijian history. It must be stressed that this data is not 'statistically valid' in the sense that each event has only occurred once, thus rendering statistical results

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<sup>1</sup> Insurgences are defined as riots, rebellions or revolts by the Macquarie Dictionary 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition.

<sup>2</sup> Stimuli are represented as causes and triggers throughout the report.

<sup>3</sup> This work was undertaken prior to the coup at the end of 2006.

meaningless. To obtain an ‘expected’ value in this type of analysis we can only compare similar events and note trends in the stimuli – specifically as causes and triggers for the events. However, the data are real and defensible, as the events have actually occurred in relation to the given stimuli. This study cannot validate anticipated reactions, but provides a solid foundation for the arguments presented and future analysis on the problem space as well as provision of real data points for wargaming, training or calibrating a simulation.

Bias is also of concern with any kind of historical analysis, as all histories are written from a particular perspective [7, 8]. This is especially the case with colonial histories, as there are often few indigenous historians to write alternative accounts [9]. Nevertheless, despite the possibility of bias, it must be remembered that the events themselves are historical facts. Furthermore, by examining source material from as wide a variety of perspectives as possible, bias may be somewhat reduced[8].

Data was obtained from a wide variety of sources including an extensive literature survey on Fijian, Tongan, British, and Australian historical sources [1-4, 7, 9-75]. An attempt was made to include all sources, which detailed the environment of the population (politically, socially, culturally etc.), the events themselves, and any other relevant material, to complete the picture. An initial narrative of the data collected is generated but due to the detail and complexity of the information this provides mostly context and qualitative data for analysis. The historical events of interest are identified and the underlying stimuli elucidated from this narrative as causes and triggers. These stimuli and events are then linked together graphically using a modified influence diagram (Appendices C.1 and C.2) and the stimuli are linked together and analysed using a matrix (Appendix C.3).

The diagrams of stimuli and events are at two levels, the ‘detailed’ level (Appendix C.1) and the ‘distilled’ level (Appendix C.2). The detailed diagrams show a more detailed list of stimuli associated with events and the distilled diagrams group these stimuli into a more generic dataset. This process allows trends to be identified and investigated in further detail. This also permits low level quantification of stimuli and event frequencies as well as analysis of the generic category of stimulus contribution to the events. Other information investigated at a quantitative level included population statistics of religion and ethnicity, where they were available, and time delays between causes, triggers and events.

### 3. Brief History of Fiji

Although few written records were kept of pre-colonial contact, oral history, archaeology, physical anthropology, historical linguistics and ethnography have all provided evidence for the formidable warrior culture that pervaded Fiji<sup>4</sup> [7, 75]. The first contact with other Polynesians occurred about 1000 A.D., when the Fijians fiercely resisted an invasion from Tonga and Samoa [10, 52]. However, despite this initial enmity, the Fijians and Tongans were

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<sup>4</sup> Note that Fiji is the anglicised name for the archipelago. Among the natives, the archipelago was known as *Viti* [52].



to develop a close alliance through trading [10]. Most significantly, however, the Tongans hired themselves out as mercenaries, and, as fierce warriors, quickly rose to positions of influence with the Fijian chiefs. This national alliance was further strengthened when the King of Tonga's daughter married the King of Lakeba, and it has been speculated that, had the Europeans not arrived when they did, the Tongans may have taken control of Fiji [10, 37].

In 1643, the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman became the first European to discover Fiji, followed by the British Captain James Cook. Captain Bligh came across the islands in 1789, and charted them in 1802. Fiji was finally surveyed by a United States exploration expedition in 1840 [10, 12, 24, 31, 32, 37, 40-42, 56, 75].

The reefs and cannibal behaviour of the Fijian population kept European settlers away for a long time. However, the discovery of sandalwood (which could be sold for a high price in China) in 1804 brought many traders to the islands [64, 67, 75]. Once sandalwood became depleted, the traders focused on *bêche-de-mer*, a sea cucumber that is considered a delicacy in Asia. In exchange for both of these resources, traders provided the Fijians with cloth, metal tools, tobacco, and guns. As a result of the latter, inter-tribal rivalries, which had continued for centuries, reached an unprecedented intensity [12, 24, 25, 41].

The nineteenth century saw increasing numbers of European settlers, some of who discovered why Fiji was nicknamed the 'Cannibal Islands'. Many, however, were well received by the Fijians, even rising to influential positions, such as becoming interpreters and arms men to Fijian chiefs [37, 75].

The first Christian missionaries arrived in 1830, and despite some early resistance, many Fijian chiefs had become converted by the 1850s [12, 31, 60, 64]. After this, the worldwide cotton boom of the 1860s led to many cotton, sugar and copra plantations being established in Fiji [12, 31, 54, 64]. By this stage, many Fijian chiefs were in debt to the Europeans, and were therefore quite willing to sell them the necessary land [7].

The 1860s also saw a serious conflict between the Fijian chief Cakobau and the Tongan warrior Ma'afu. Both sides had European allies, and for a while, Fiji was divided under two separate administrations [12, 41, 64]. Cakobau also declared war on the Kai Colo mountain tribe of Fiji in 1867, after the Kai Colo ate the missionary, the Reverend Thomas Baker and murdered several planters. The Kai Colo also began raiding coastal Fijian settlements around the same time [7]. By 1871, Cakobau won power over Ma'afu, and a Fijian national government was established with Cakobau as king [24, 25, 41]. The Kai Colo murdered more planters in the 1870s, and Cakobau retaliated by burning the stronghold of the chief of the Kai Colo, Nubutautau, in 1873 [28].

By 1873, Fiji was heavily in debt, and Cakobau was unable to maintain control. Many European settlers were also pressuring him to cede the islands to Britain. Accordingly, on the 10<sup>th</sup> October 1874, Cakobau, Ma'afu and ten other high chiefs, signed the *Deed of Cession* and unconditionally handed over Fiji to Queen Victoria [11, 12, 24, 37, 40, 64]. The population recognised Queen Victoria as the supreme chief of Fiji, and became relatively united under her. In 1876, the colonial administration decided that the Kai Colo were a massive threat to national unity, and accordingly re-opened campaigns against them, forcing them to surrender

[7, 24]. Between 1879 and 1916 a shortage of labour was overcome by importing 60,000 indentured labourers from India [11, 24, 41, 42, 52].

World War I broke out in 1914, and along with it came the threat of invasion. Fiji went on high alert, and Australian and Japanese warships were sent for its protection. The Fijian population were also very supportive of the Allies during this period, and donated sizeable amounts of both money and clothing. Before the legislative council allowed the colony to raise soldiers for active service, many Fijians also travelled to New Zealand, Australia, England and even the French Foreign Legion to enlist [24, 34, 68].

By the time that indentured labour ended in 1920, there were more than 60,000 Indians in Fiji, and few either wanted, or could afford, to return to India [12, 31, 37, 41, 64]. Since Indo-Fijians were barred from owning land, many moved into trade and small businesses, while others entered into long-term leases on farms [41]. By the late 1920s the Indo-Fijian population, being inspired by Gandhi's theory of peaceful resistance, protested against the absence of a common electoral roll [68]. When World War II broke out in 1939, Fiji became an important Allied supply point, and the population were once again highly supportive of the Allies, with many serving in the British armed forces [24, 30, 42]. From 1921 onwards, trade unions were being formed and became popular with Indo-Fijian cane growers and mill workers, with militant strikes occurring from 1921 through to major riots in 1959 [59]. These riots were focussed on inequalities in economic, resource and political issues.

During October 1970, Fiji became an independent nation within the British Commonwealth [24, 31, 41]. In 1987, the long standing governing party was defeated by a coalition government [76]. Although Bavadra, the leader, was Fijian, and his cabinet had a Fijian majority, the new government was perceived as being Indian dominated, a factor which was resented by the Indigenous population<sup>5</sup>. A protest movement called the Taukei movement (after an old Fijian National Party) was formed which demanded that the Governor-General change the constitution so that only Fijians would ever hold political office. During the next few weeks Indians and their assets were attacked [68, 70, 76].

In May 1987, Lieutenant Colonel (LTCOL) Rabuka, the Chief of Operations and the third highest-ranking officer of Royal Fiji Military Forces, acted on the indigenous discontent by invading parliament with a dozen men, and overthrowing the government in a bloodless coup. Governor-General Ganilau then took charge and commenced four months of interim rule. Meanwhile, attacks against Indians continued [28, 31, 43, 44, 70].

The Governor-General and the two main political parties were eventually able to reach an agreement for a bipartisan Cabinet [24]. LTCOL Rabuka, however, resented the deposed Prime Minister's involvement in the new government, as well as the military being excluded from the negotiations, and accordingly staged a second coup in September 1987 [24, 43]. Then, in October, the military government declared Fiji a republic, and Fiji was consequently expelled from the Commonwealth [24, 43, 70]. The military regime, however, found itself unable to effectively run the country, and handed over control to an interim government in

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<sup>5</sup> Resentment was further escalated when the party proposed restructuring the Native Lands Trust Board, the organisation which administered the leasing of Fijian-owned land.

December. The Governor-General then became President of the Republic of Fiji [24]. However, when the interim government lifted the ban on Sunday public transport in 1988, protesters created roadblocks and disrupted traffic<sup>6</sup> [28, 76].

A new constitution which protected ethnic Fijian lands, and reserved all significant political offices for ethnic Fijians was promulgated in July 1990 by President Ganilau [24, 28, 43, 64, 65]. The Indian population's reaction to the coup and the new constitution was strong, but peaceful. Within two years of the coup, more than 12,000 Indo-Fijians had left the country, and this new constitution increased the number of émigrés to 60,000 [28, 31, 65].

A new amended constitution was promulgated by President Mara in July 1997, which allowed non-ethnic Fijians to take up senior political offices, guaranteed multi-racial cabinets, and established the first human rights commission among Pacific island states. Two months later, after Rabuka formally apologized to the Queen for the coups, Fiji was re-admitted into the Commonwealth [24, 31, 58].

By the year 2000, approximately 20,000 Indian families lived on land leased from indigenous Fijians. Almost all the plantations were situated on leased land and many of these leases were due to expire with many Fijians refusing to renew the leases [31].

The first election under the amended constitution was held in March 1999, and Mahendra Chaudhry, leader of the Fiji Labour Party (FLP), became Fiji's first ethnic Indian Prime Minister [70]. By the first anniversary of the elections (March 2000), however, there was heavy protest against the government, and former businessman George Speight acted on this by storming parliament in a coup and holding Chaudhry and thirty ministers hostage [36, 43, 44, 48, 55, 77].

Meanwhile, rebel forces set up roadblocks, took hostages, and occupied military, government and public buildings. There were also numerous attacks on civilians during this period. Most of the violence, however, was directed towards Indians [14, 15, 55, 70, 77]. The military responded to this crisis by forming an interim government under the leadership of Commander Frank Bainimarama. Then, in May 2000, the military suspended the constitution, declared Martial Law, and introduced a curfew [16, 17, 36, 61, 70]. June 2000 saw a number of anti-coup protests by large sections of the population. The military responded to this by threatening farmers and workers with beatings and imprisonment. June also saw Fiji's second expulsion from the Commonwealth, with Australia and other countries introducing sanctions [17, 43, 51].

Finally, after fifty-six days, Speight released the hostages in late June 2000, and a deal was signed by Speight and Bainimarama in July [48, 51, 55, 61, 71]. According to this deal, Chaudhry's government was dismissed, coup members received an amnesty for all crimes committed under the coup and the 1987 constitution was discarded. The military, however, accused Speight of breaching the amnesty by failing to hand over weapons stolen from the military, and, accordingly, Speight was arrested by the army in late July. The army then stormed the rebels' command centre and arrested Speight's supporters. In response to these

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<sup>6</sup> Refer to Section 5.4 for greater detail.

arrests, pro-Speight chiefs sent their people to loot shops. Finally, at the end of July, the army and the Great Council of Chiefs appointed a Fijian dominated interim government, and the banker Laisenia Qarase was sworn in as Prime Minister [34, 36].

Fiji's next major insurgency occurred in November 2000, when the army's elite Counter Revolutionary Warfare Unit staged a mutiny in an attempt to replace Commander Bainimarama [18, 77].

In February 2001, the Court of Appeal gave a judgement upholding the constitution, and declaring Qarase's government illegal [19, 43]. Tevita Momoedonu was appointed as Prime Minister of the caretaker government in March of 2001, an action that was also declared illegal a few months later. In an attempt to return Fiji to democracy, a general election was held in September 2001. Qarase was elected Prime Minister, and both Chaudhry and Speight were elected as MPs (Speight, however, was still in custody, and was therefore expelled for failing to attend). Qarase, nevertheless, refused to admit any Indians to his Cabinet, even though they were entitled to eight seats according to the Constitutional Rules. The Supreme Court then ruled in February 2002 that Qarase must admit Indo-Fijians to his cabinet. Despite this, in December 2001, Fiji was readmitted to the Commonwealth [19, 36, 39, 43, 48, 61, 78].

During February 2002, Speight was sentenced to death by hanging, although the incumbent President commuted this to life imprisonment. By December 2002, several Indians had been forced off their farms after their leases expired, and in December 2002, a series of government talks were held over the matter. These talks, however, broke down when Chaudhry pulled out in response to Qarase's continued refusal to admit Indo-Fijians to his cabinet [43, 78].

By 2003 Fiji was suffering from a major breakdown in law and order [78]. In May 2003, a group of armed Fijians conducted a seaborne assault on Suva's Holiday Inn, a popular destination for wealthy tourists and visitors [78]. In July, Qarase's government was again declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court for its failure to include opposition members to the cabinet. In September, Qarase offered positions to four Indo-Fijian members of the Labour Party, however, because he refused to include Chaudhry, his offer was rejected. [43].

Events since 2003 are described in section 6.

### 3.1 Historical Population Demographics

Fiji is an archipelago consisting of approximately 330 islands, 150 of which are inhabited [31, 49]. However, the two largest islands, Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, comprise 85 percent of Fiji's total land area, and it is upon these two islands, particularly Viti Levu, that most of the historical events have occurred [31, 49]. Fiji has a population of around 847,000 (2004 estimate) [23], and has an overall population density of about 40 per square km [78]. Approximately 60% of the population live in rural areas, mostly as farmers [24, 45].

The first demographic change that occurred in Fiji was the influx of Europeans and *Manilamen* (Chinese seamen from outside of the Chinese Empire), which was initially triggered by the abundance of Sandalwood and *Bêche-de-mer*, and later by the worldwide Cotton Boom [41, 54]. However, since the European and Chinese population comprise only 5% of the population

combined, and have not been involved in any insurgent activity, they will not be discussed here in any further detail [24, 44].

Of greater relevance is the *Valu ni Lotu* (Church War) as part of the Kai Colo rebellion, in which many interior Fijians were forcefully shifted or killed. As a result, the interior has remained sparsely populated until this day, although this can be largely attributed to the harshness of the terrain [7, 24].

The most significant demographic change in Fiji occurred between 1879 and 1916, when 60,000 indentured labourers were imported from India. The 1920s and 1930s also saw further increases in the Indian population when there was voluntarily migration to Fiji [24]. While approximately 60,000 Indo-Fijians left Fiji in response to the 1987 coup and the 1990 constitutional changes, the indigenous and Indo-Fijian population have remained relatively constant and similar in proportion for the last fifteen years (Fijians comprise approximately 50% and Indo-Fijians approximately 45% of the population ethnicity of Fiji) [24, 38, 49, 65].

Religious demographics are of some relevance to the analysis with religion appearing as a stimulus in several places, and as such the demographics are broken down as [24, 38, 44, 49, 65]:

- Christian - 52% (Methodist - 37%, Catholic – 9%, Other – 6%)
- Hindu – 38%
- Muslim – 8%
- Other religions – 2%

Religious conflict in Fiji can largely be attributed to the fact that the two ethnic groups are generally divided by religious beliefs. The break up amongst the two main ethnic groups are indigenous Fijians as mostly Christian and the Indo-Fijians as primarily Hindu with some Muslim [24].

While indigenous Fijians are often described as being Melanesian, they are physically, culturally and linguistically distinct from other Melanesian races. This suggests a distinct Polynesian (e.g. Tongan or Samoan) influence among the Fijian people. The Indo-Fijians, as explained above, are descendants from the indentured labourers and voluntary Indian migrants [10, 64].

The two groups, however have remained socially and politically segregated, with settlements tending to be dominated by only one of the two ethnic groups [24, 31, 44]. Indigenous Fijians are, however, more spread out throughout Fiji, with approximately 60% living in rural areas [24, 49]. Indo-Fijians, however, tend to be more clustered around urban areas and plantations. The indigenous Fijians have traditionally held political power, as well as most significant government and military posts. They also hold over 80% of Fiji's land. It is the Indo-Fijians, however, who have dominated commerce, especially as far as shop-keeping and plantation farming is concerned [24, 31, 47, 49, 59].

## 4. Trends Analysis

This section discusses the results of the analysis for the Fijian Case Study. It relies on the methodology described briefly in Section 2 of this report and as detailed more fully in previous reports [1-4].

The ‘detailed’ and the ‘distilled’ stimulus/event diagrams can be found in Appendices C.1 and C.2. In the interests of simplicity, and in order to enhance data visualisation (i.e. by minimising the number of links in the map), similar stimuli have been merged into one in the ‘distilled diagram’. The diagrams have also been colour-coded, with legends included. The matrix in Appendix C.3 also demonstrates how highly dependent the stimuli were on each-other. This was also found in the previous studies, except for the Solomon Islands, which had several stimuli that were independent of others.

Table 1 gives the definitions for the stimulus terms used in the report. A number of the stimuli found in [1-4] have been incorporated and applied here, although there was also a large number of stimuli unique to Fiji. Stimuli similar to the other countries are shaded.

*Table 1. Definitions of stimulus terms used*

<b>Term Used</b>	<b>Description</b>
Anglophilia	This refers to the feelings of regard, respect and loyalty that the population have held towards the colonial administration, the monarchy, and the British governmental system generally.
Anti-Chinese	Refers to violent attacks on Chinese shops and businesses, mainly caused by resentment over Chinese prosperity.
Anti-colonialism/ Anti-European/ Anti-White and Resistance to European Culture/ Religion	Refers to hostile or resentful sentiments towards the colonial administration, European settlers, or Caucasian people generally, and also the perception that Europeans were trying to impose their culture and religion on the population.
Anti-Indian	Refers to hostile or resentful sentiments of certain indigenous Fijians against Indo-Fijians, fuelled by Indian prosperity, as well as racial, political and land disputes.
Chiefly Respect	Refers to the high level of power held by chiefs, thus allowing them to exert great influence over the indigenous population. Also refers to sentiments of respect and deference that are given to chiefs, and the feelings of outrage that result if it is perceived that a chief has been disrespected.
Clans and Traditional Rivalries	Refers to the existence of traditional rivalries between Fijian groups, which have existed for hundreds of years. These relationships and rivalries are embedded in the Fijian ‘memory’.

Term Used	Description
Constitutional Discontent	Refers to sentiments of severe discontent towards various Fijian constitutions. Feelings of discontent alternated between the indigenous and Indo-Fijian population, depending on the constitution involved, and which group was perceived as being favoured or discriminated against.
Cultural assimilation	The integration of various traditional ways with western and world-view ideas and beliefs.
Desire for Democracy	Refers to pro-democratic sentiments in the population, as well as sentiments of hostility towards those who would hinder the country's democratic progress.
Desire for power, order or victory in war	Refers to the desire to gain or consolidate political power, bring order to unruly situations, or gain victories in warfare.
Desire/need for goods, services and money.	This refers to the desire by the population to acquire goods and services from Tongan and European visitors. It also refers to the administration and chiefs' need for money, after they became heavily indebted to the Europeans.
Disappointment and Frustration	This covers the feelings of the population when expectations have not been met.
Environmental Damage	This refers to sentiments of discontent caused by issues that affect the environment of the South Pacific region as a whole.
Exploitation & Treatment	This refers to the exploitation of certain elements in the population, such as through the colonial indentured labour system, as well as poor working conditions and low pay generally.
External Incitement/ Influence	Outside forces manipulating a situation or group's motives to provide a <i>stimulus</i> to force some <i>event</i> to occur. It also refers to the osmosis of influential ideas from the wider world, such as Gandhi's ideas concerning peaceful resistance.
Fighting Spirit, Warrior Culture and Respect for other Warrior Cultures	This refers to the courage and strength of the Fijian people, as well as the strong emphasis on warrior values within the Fijian culture. This also incorporates the esteem that indigenous Fijians hold for those who display similar levels of courage and strength (such as the Tongans).
Independence	Desire for self-government and autonomy.
Inequality/ Unfairness	This refers to sentiments held by both indigenous and Indo-Fijians that they are unfairly disadvantaged, and that they are not receiving a fair go.
Insult to culture, beliefs and people	The Fijian culture is largely a culture of respect, and Fijian people take actions that they consider to be insulting or disrespectful very seriously.
Jealousy	Refers to discontent due to the more economically wealthy or politically powerful position of another group or groups.
Land Issues	Refers to the long-time land disputes between the indigenous and Indo-Fijians.

Term Used	Description
Militarism	Refers to the sentiment that the military should have a major say in the running of the country.
Opportunity	Refers to an unlawful or hostile action being possible due to a breakdown in law and order.
Poverty	Refers to the economically deprived condition of some indigenous and Indo-Fijians.
Power play	This refers to indigenous Fijians, Indo-Fijians or Europeans vying for power.
Religious Conviction	Refers to the deeply religious beliefs held by elements of the indigenous population.
Resources	Refers to the impact that resources brought by European visitors had on the population.
Respect for Culture	Refers to the understanding and respect for the Fijian culture shown by European and Polynesian missionaries, as well as the colonial administration.
Self-Preservation	Covers a feeling that certain actions are necessary either for one's own safety, or in order to protect one's rights or interests.
Traditional ways/ beliefs	Refers to traditional tribal ways and beliefs, such as eating those who are believed to have been abandoned by the gods.
Urbanisation	The movement of people from traditional village locations into larger towns for employment.
Violent Control & Human Rights Abuses	This refers to the use of force by the colonial administration, and later by both government and insurgent groups, or a general 'sub-standard' treatment of an element of the population.

## 4.1 Frequency Analysis

The detailed and distilled diagrams in Appendix C allowed some quantitative data to be extrapolated, allowing simple frequency analysis comparing numbers of events to causes and vice versa. It should be noted, however, that this data is subjective in nature, and as such, only provides trends and behaviours.

Figure 1 shows the number of causes that have contributed to each event, while Figure 2 demonstrates the extent that each of the five generic stimuli categories (Economic, Societal, External, Cultural, Political) have contributed to each of the events. Finally, Figure 3 shows the number of events connected with each cause.



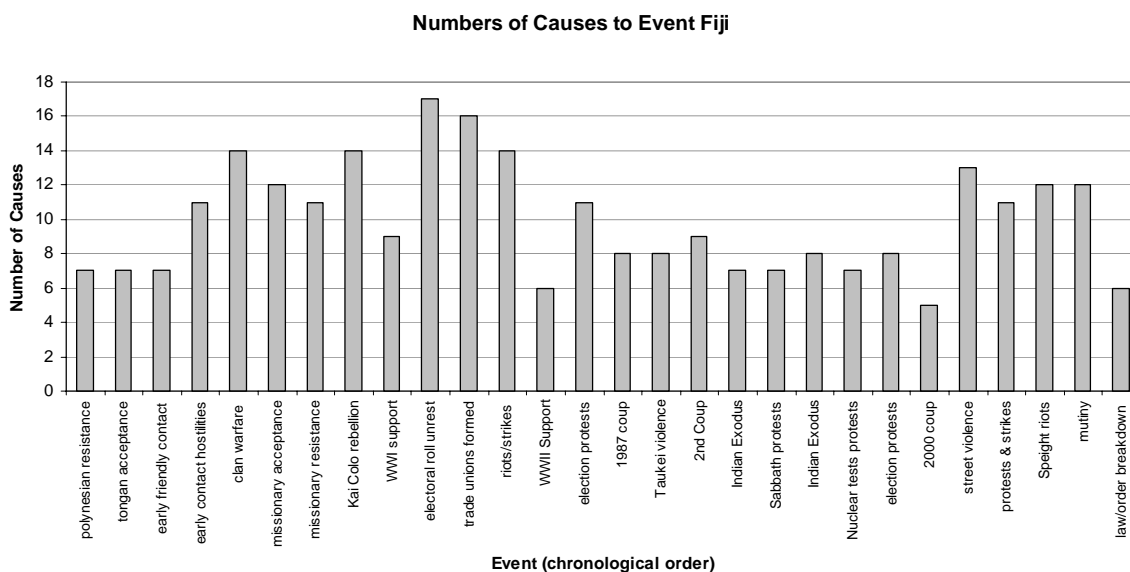


Figure 1 Figure showing total number of causes to each event for Fiji.

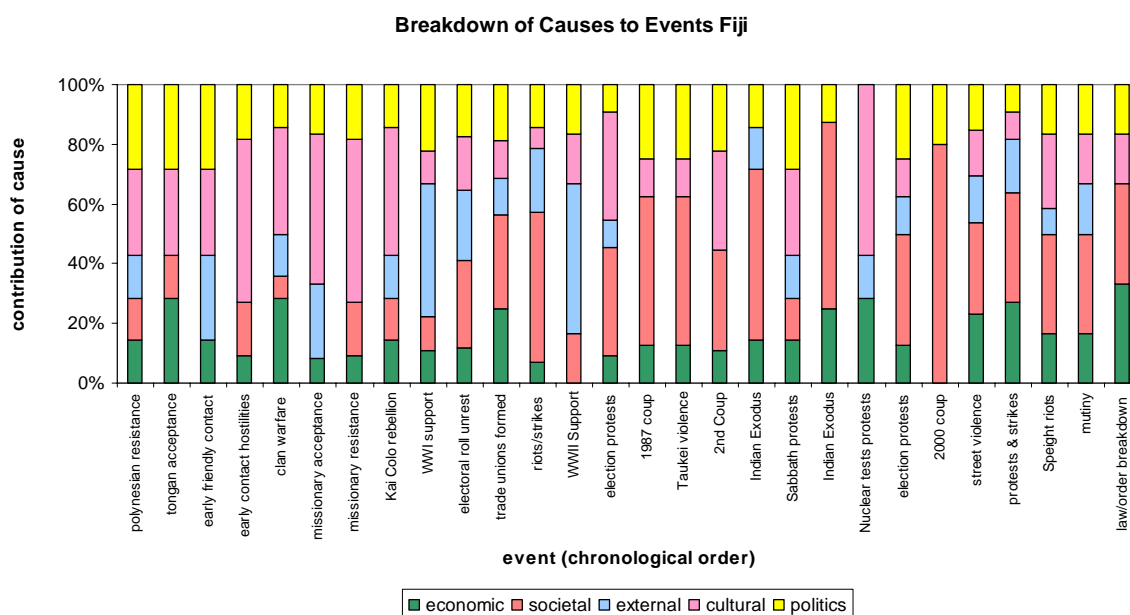


Figure 2 Figure showing the contribution of each generic cause category to each event for Fiji.

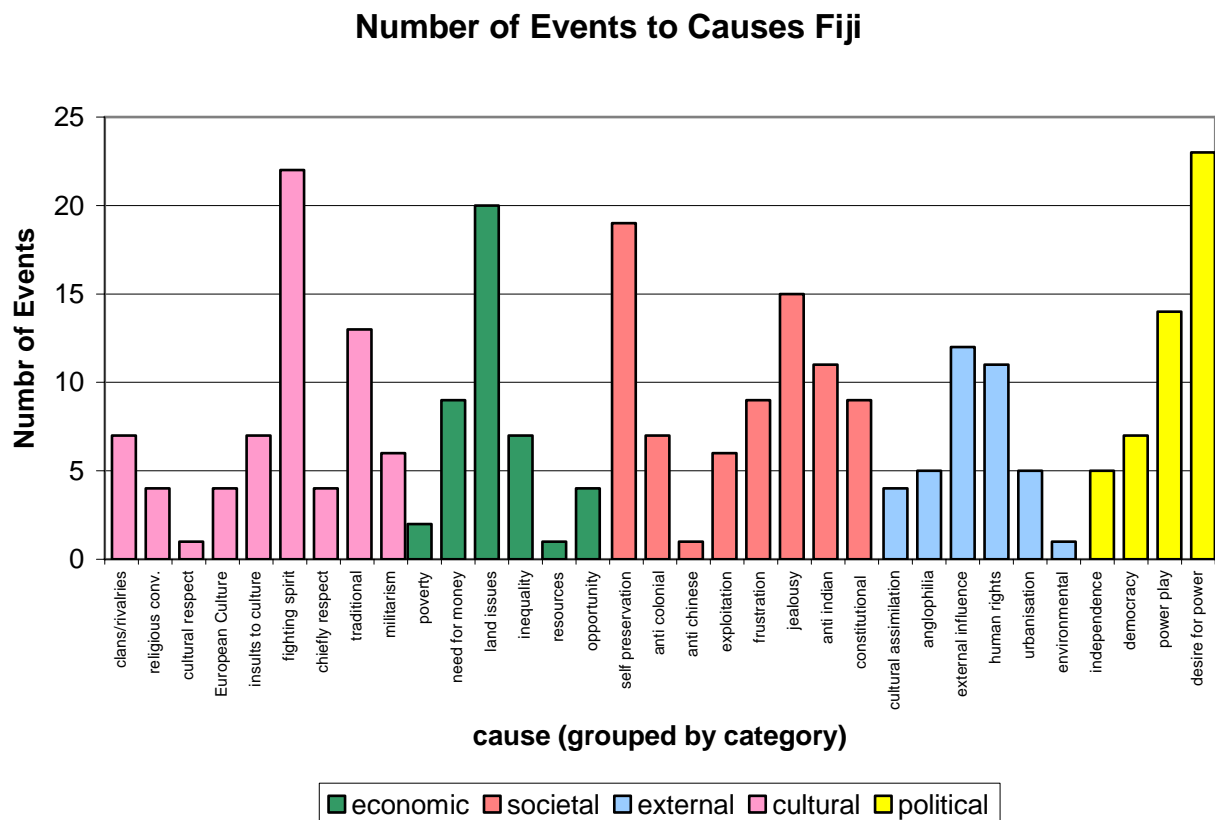


Figure 3 The number of events correlated with each cause and the attribution of each cause to a dominant generic cause category.

In Figure 1, some of the cyclical nature of the causes as documented in the previous studies [1-4], appears to be present, but over a much longer period of time when compared with the other countries studied. This may indicate a pattern where the stimuli complexity of events increases until a 'boil-over' event is reached, and the subsequent events are less complex (e.g. have fewer stimuli attached to them). In previous reports, it has been suggested that boil-over events might be caused by lack of concessions being made to the population. However, for Fiji this cyclical pattern is not a clear or prominent feature and the longer timeframe may be coincidental, indicating no cyclical pattern for Fiji.

Fiji, like Papua New Guinea [3], but unlike East Timor [1], Aceh [2], Papua [3] and the Solomon Islands [4], showed no evidence of an increase in the number of causes to events over time. It had previously been suggested that this increase of causes might be due to events becoming increasingly complex due to modern focuses on 'moral' issues, especially 'human rights'. However, it is evident that this increasing complexity does not apply to all countries. Indeed, it is possible that a nation's focus on 'moral' and 'human rights' issues may be culturally specific.

Figure 2 shows that cultural, political and economic factors are present throughout the time period investigated. Societal factors have become dominant since WWI and the external factors have had minor roles in recent times.

Figure 3 demonstrates the number of events connected with each cause, with the stimuli categories being grouped together by stimuli generic categories. From this we see that the political, cultural, economic and societal categories each have a dominant feature contributing to the events. In addition, the societal and cultural factors make up the greatest number of stimuli contributing to events.

Finally, from the numerical trends analysis we find that the detailed key drivers for events in Fiji have been desire for power, order or victory in war; warrior or fighting spirit of Fiji; land issues; self preservation; and jealousy in order of decreasing number of events.

It is important to note that the stimuli/causes used throughout the analysis are not discrete and independent in nature but to some extent depend on each other.

## 4.2 Positive and Negative Influences

This study also conducted a subjective examination of both short and long term positive and negative influences during the time period studied. For simplicity's sake, these have been made as generic as possible, and the possibility exists for a more detailed analysis to be done in the future. The definitions in the first four reports [1-4] have been used, as follows:

- Negative Influence: population reaction to stimuli where violence within the population or to others occurs (e.g. population attacks a part of a town).
- Positive Influence: population reaction to stimuli where no violence occurs or peaceful mass support or assimilation occurs (e.g. new religion is accepted and adopted by the population and there is no violent reaction or changes to everyday life); could be considered to be a non-negative influence.

Positive and negative influences are therefore factors which have caused positive and negative reactions from the population, and can be correlated with the stimuli. Accordingly, they are more specific than stimuli, although they sometimes correspond to causes and triggers.

As was found for both Papua and Papua New Guinea [3], some of the influences in this present study had both a positive and a negative effect, and were difficult to categorise. For example, western goods provided the positive effect of facilitating trade and compromise between Europeans and Fijians, as well as increasing indigenous health and comfort. Nevertheless, the provision of weapons also facilitated fierce intertribal warfare. Similarly, the maintenance of traditional laws and customs by the colonial administration won the loyalty of the indigenous population. However, the traditional land laws, which prevented the Indian population from acquiring land, were to become a major source of conflict and discontent.

Therefore, some influences have been placed in both categories. However, there were other cases where an influence was both positive and negative, but one category seemed clearly more appropriate than the other. For example, while many Fijians died by the hands of Tongan mercenaries, the political, social, trading and missionary influence of the Tongans seems predominantly to have been a positive influence.

Some of the important influences found were:

**Positive Influences:**

- Tongan influence
- Trade
- Missionaries working within and respecting the Fijian culture
- Uniting of Fiji under Queen Victoria
- The maintenance of traditional laws and customs by the colonial administration
- Exposure to western goods

**Negative Influences:**

- Indentured labour system
- Unequal treatment between the Indian and indigenous population
- Exposure to western goods
- Exploitation
- Violent control
- Traditional land laws

### 4.3 Relationships between causes

The studies to date have found a small but persistent subset of causes recurring throughout the periods studied. The persistent nature of the stimuli is determined from an analysis of recurring themes as well as from the matrix in Appendix C.3. These stimuli have been categorised as persistent causes, and the persistent causes for Fiji are listed in Table 2.

*Table 2 Persistent stimuli over time for Fiji*

<b>Persistent Stimuli</b>
Chiefly Respect and traditional ways/ beliefs
Desire for power, order or victory in war
Desire/need for goods, services and money
Disappointment and Frustration
Racial and cultural prejudice
Fighting Spirit, Warrior Culture and Respect for other Warrior Cultures
Jealousy
Land Issues
Self-Preservation

Fiji had comparable numbers of persistent causes to the other regions [1-4]. The relationships between the stimuli were also investigated using a matrix, both at the distilled and the detailed level. A traffic light system was used, where red, orange and green indicate high, medium, and low or no levels of dependency, respectively. The matrix is in Appendix C.3. As in previous studies, a high interdependency between causes was found, and this makes it difficult to identify paramount causes. Like the previous studies [1-4], this study found evidence of a Fijian societal memory (for both indigenous and Indo-Fijians) through the persistence of stimuli and the recurrence of stimuli from previous events.

#### 4.4 Time Delays between stimuli and events

An investigation into time delays between the factors for stimuli and events showed no relevant correlations or trends.

### 5. Events of Interest

There are five events that demonstrate both the complexity of the causes and the important role that cultural and traditional factors play within Fijian society. This complexity highlights some of the interdependencies of the stimuli discussed earlier. These events are discussed in further detail in the following sections.

#### 5.1 Missionary Acceptance (1830-1880)

Although missionary work has been a focus in almost every nation that has been settled by white Europeans, missionary efforts in Fiji were unique in a number of ways [60, 64]. The first factor was the number of missionaries who were Polynesian rather than European. For example, the first missionaries to arrive in Fiji in 1830 were Tahitians, and after the King and Queen of Tonga were converted to Christianity in 1834, many Tongan converts migrated to Fiji in order to preach to the Fijians. The second factor that made missionary work in Fiji unique was that the European missionaries had a great deal of experience in working with islander cultures. For example, many Europeans came directly to Fiji from the Wesleyan mission in Tonga, while others came from Tahiti [12, 31, 60, 64].

Although they initially experienced some resistance, the missionaries were facilitated by the fact that many of the chiefs saw ‘conversion’ as a way to form political alliances with Europeans [12, 76]. Accordingly, many of the chiefs became converted by 1850. Due to the high level of respect given to chiefs in the Fijian culture, the conversion of the chief also assured the conversion of the chief’s people [76].

The real milestone occurred, however, when the Chief Cakobau was converted in 1854. Cakobau had been trying to consolidate his power through warfare for the past twelve years, and had been left significantly weakened as a result. Cakobau thus needed the kind of European alliance that could only come from conversion [41]. After his conversion, Cakobau single-handedly ended the majority of the resistance to missionaries by making Christianity the official religion in his territories. After this, only the Kai Colo (mountain people) continued their fierce resistance to the missionaries, which reached its peak in 1867, when the Kai Colo ate a missionary, the Reverend Thomas Baker (see section 5.2) [12, 41, 64, 76].

Although there were a number of catholic missionaries, the majority of Fijians converted to the Methodist denomination. It has been speculated that this is due to the closer compatibility between the Methodist denomination values and Fijian cultural values. For example, the

emphasis on submission to worldly authority fitted well into Fijian views concerning respect for chiefs [76].

Some of the principle causes for the missionary acceptance were:

- The cultural sensitivity and respect displayed by the missionaries
- The Fijians respect for the Tongans as a similar warrior culture
- Respect/deference given to chiefs to make decisions for their people
- Chiefs vying for power and attempting to form political alliances
- Religious conviction
- Compatibility of Christianity with traditional views

## 5.2 The Kai Colo Rebellion (1867)

The Kai Colo's resentment against the Europeans had been building up for a long time before the Kai Colo rebellions actually broke out. The Kai Colo felt insulted by European attempts to impose a European culture upon them, such as getting the native inhabitants to cut their hair (the head being considered to be the source of *mana* or power), and by replacing bark-cloth loincloths with European clothing. Perhaps most of all, however, the Kai Colo were adamant about resisting any attempts to abolish cannibalism among them, or to convert them to Christianity [7, 76].

Traditional tensions between the Kai Colo and the coastal Fijians were further escalated when the coastal Fijians began selling land to the settlers. In response to this, the Kai Colo began raiding and burning coastal Fijian villages [7].

The '*na gauna ni valu*' (war time) broke out in 1867, when the Kai Colo murdered several European planters, and ate the Reverend Thomas Baker. King Cakobau had formed a strong alliance with the planters, and was thus under a lot of pressure to suppress the Kai Colo. King Cakobau accordingly commissioned a number of punitive raids, although they were too disorganised to be effective. The Kai Colo then again murdered two planters in the 1870s, and Cakobau retaliated by burning the stronghold of the chief of the Kai Colo, Nubutautau, in 1873 [7, 28].

After Fiji was ceded to Britain in 1874, the new colonial administration made the subjugation of the Kai Colo a matter of priority. Accordingly, campaigns against the Kai Colo recommenced in 1876, and this period became known as '*Na Valu ni Lotu*' (The Church War), thus reflecting the notion that this was a war to forcefully convert the Kai Colo to Christianity. This time the administration discarded the notion of punitive raids, and instead brought the rebels under continuous attack from heavily armed forces for several months. After the Kai Colo surrendered, those leaders not killed in battle were tried and executed, and many of the Kai Colo were placed in labour camps. This effectively ended the rebellion of the Kai Colo [7, 24].

Some of the primary causes for this rebellion are:

- Resentment over the imposition of European culture, and the feeling that the Kai Colo's culture had been disrespected or insulted

- The perception that the coastal Fijians would soon attempt to exercise power over the Kai Colo, and that the Kai Colo needed to act for their own preservation
- Traditional rivalries between the Kai Colo and the coastal Fijians
- Communal unity through the traditional kinship ethic
- Resentment over the sale of Fijian land to Europeans
- Jealousy that the coastal Fijians were gaining from the Europeans, while the Kai Colo were not
- The warrior spirit, which emphasised fighting for one's rights and interests
- The strong independent spirit of the Kai Colo

### **5.3 Riots and Strikes (1921 – 1959)**

From 1921 onwards, trade unions were being formed and became popular with Indo-Fijian cane growers and mill workers, with militant strikes occurring from 1921 through to major riots in 1959. These included militant strikes in 1921 and 1943, and three strikes occurring in 1957 alone. However, in spite of Indo-Fijian attempts to spur them, the indigenous population showed little interest in militant trade-unionism [59].

This changed dramatically in December 1959, when up to three hundred oil workers went on strike. Both the Indian and indigenous Fijian populations co-operated during the strikes, with both Fijian villagers and Indian farmers giving money, rice and sugar to the strikers. The strike was peaceful until the Police Superintendent ordered his men to throw tear gas grenades into the crowd, at which point the crowd retaliated by stoning the police. A number of anti-police protests and clashes followed, and later a police section leader was shot when two Indians and two Fijians attempted to take his rifle. The population then went on a rampage, damaging European properties, stoning European cars, and, to a lesser extent, attacking Indian and Chinese shops [59].

Some of the main causes for the riots were:

- Bitterness and ill-feelings over the poverty of the workers
- Incitement by militant trade-unionist among the Indian population
- Anti-colonial feeling
- The violent control exerted by the police

### **5.4 The Sabbath Protests (1987)**

Like the majority of the indigenous population, LTCOL Rabuka was a devout Methodist, and accordingly, he used his time in power after the second 1987 coup to promulgate the Sunday Observance Decree. This decree prohibited commerce, recreational activities such as organised sports, and public transport from occurring on Sundays [28, 76]. While this decree applied to everyone, it nevertheless had a disproportionate effect on the Indian population. The majority of the public transport companies, for example, were Indian owned, as were the majority of businesses. Furthermore, because most of the Indians were Hindu or Sikh, observing the Sabbath was not part of their religious beliefs [70, 76].

When the interim government attempted to lift the bans on public transport in 1988, elements of the indigenous population began to fear that the rest of the decree would be lifted also. Protesters then created roadblocks and disrupted traffic. Church ministers also threatened Rabuka that, unless the Sunday Observance Decree was restored in its entirety, more drastic action would be taken. The interim government responded to this situation by arresting large numbers of protesters [76].

Some of the primary causes of these protests include:

- Anti-Indian feelings
- Jealousy over the Indians' dominance of commerce
- Religious conviction
- Incitement by community religious leaders
- Power play between community religious leaders and the administration

## 5.5 2000 Coup

The first election under the amended constitution was held in March 1999, and Mahendra Chaudhry, leader of the FLP, became Fiji's first ethnic Indian Prime Minister [70]. Chaudhry made several reforms that quickly won him the animosity of the indigenous population, such as pressuring landowners to renew expiring thirty year leases with only small increases in rent, setting up a land compensation scheme for Indian farmers, and introducing a bill that would reduce government programs for indigenous Fijians. There was also some feeling among the Indo-Fijian population that Chaudhry was mishandling the economy. Accordingly, the Taukei movement (named after an old Fijian National Party) once again became very vocal, and a number of protest marches were carried out during the first anniversary of the elections in March 2000. These marches were also supported by opposition political parties, the Methodist church and businessmen [48, 70, 74].

After a couple of months of protests, former businessman George Speight and over 50 rebel soldiers stormed parliament in May 2000. The rebels then held Chaudhry and thirty ministers hostage. President Mara, whose daughter was amongst the hostages, submitted to Speight's demands for his resignation. Speight also demanded a new constitution and amnesty for those involved in the coup [43, 44, 48, 55, 77].

Some of the major causes of the coup were:

- Discontent generally and in particular over the 1997 constitution, which allowed Indo-Fijians to hold political office
- Land tensions over Chaudhry's attempt to renew expiring leases
- Jealousy over Indian prosperity
- Power plays between competing interests vying for power



## 6. Revisit post 2006 Coup

The information provided in this section in an addendum to the original report to provide some additional contextual information and its effect on the original analysis with events that have occurred since the original work was undertaken.

### 6.1 Additional Background in Brief

Continuing from the historical background in Section 3, following the continued breakdown of law and order in 2002 and 2003, the issues awaiting resolution in the government appeared to not have been resolved to the satisfaction of the military. There was heated public debate between the Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase<sup>7</sup> and the Commander of the Republic of Fiji Military Forces (RFMF) Commodore Frank Bainimarama for some time throughout 2006 over a range of issues, including three bills which were being considered by the Fijian Parliament: Reconciliation Tolerance and Unity Bill (RTU) which questioned the illegality of the 2000 coup and offered pardons to some participants of that event (some of those included those who held government positions); Qoliqoli Bill which handed control of the seabed resources to ethnic Fijians, and the Land Tribunal Bill. A solution to the friction over the bills between the military and the government had been brokered by a truce through the Vice President of Fiji though relations remained strained [79 - 82].

The Commodore publicly attacked government policies and maintained that the RTU bill created a culture of disrespect for law and authority resulting in a rise in crime being seen. He was also critical of the Church for supporting the government. The Prime Minister's response was that the Commander's comments were unconstitutional, and referred the issue to the Supreme Court to rule on the proper role of the military. In September, the military declared that the court action was a threat to the nation and declared their opposition to the Qoliqoli Bill [79, 80, 82].

The public stoush continued between the Prime Minister and the Commodore and finally, nine demands were made by Commodore Bainimarama to the Prime Minister with a final ultimatum to concede to the demands or resign by 4 December 2006. The demands focussed on justice over the 2000 coup, economic inequality based on race, stopping interventions by foreign authorities, ending court proceedings over the military and addressing concerns about government spending [80 - 82].

The president and Prime Minister attempted to sack the Commodore, however his nominated replacement refused to accept the position and the RFMF remained loyal to the Commodore. A group of Pacific foreign ministers attempted to prevent the coup to no avail [80].

During 4 - 5 December, the military gradually took over the capital, Suva, and many ministers and chief executives were placed under house arrest. On 5 December 2006, the Commodore announced that he had removed the Prime Minister from office and had assumed executive

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<sup>7</sup> Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase had been appointed the interim Prime Minister following the 2000 coup and won democratic elections in both 2001 and 2006.

authority on Fiji. However, the Army did not have the support of several key bodies throughout this coup, namely the Great Council of Chiefs, the Methodist Church of Fiji and Rotuma and the Anglican and Catholic Churches. Unlike previous coups in Fiji, as yet, this one has shown no significant overt protests or violence by the general population, rather support for either the military or the non-supporting bodies of the Great Council or Churches is being shown through traditional means [79, 80, 82].

As a result of this coup, the United States suspended monetary aid, and on 8 December 2006, Fiji was once again suspended from the Commonwealth. On 18 January 2007, the reinstated President signed a decree giving all those involved in the interim government following the coup amnesty from all consequences. The mandate from the President to the current interim government is to lead the country to elections, uphold the constitution, provide immunity for coup participants, reform the electoral system, combat corruption and lift living standards for Fiji's poor. As of February 2007, the situation in Fiji is still unresolved and there is still censorship of the Fijian media outlets [79, 80, 82].

## 6.2 Update to Analysis

One event can be incorporated into the previous analysis, which is the 2006 Coup undertaken by the RFMF. When this is incorporated into the original analysis, we find that the original trend patterns are consistent and still hold with no anomalies developing. There are no changes to the insights gained or the lessons learned described in section 7.

# 7. Lessons Learned

There are several lessons, which can be learned from the analysis of Fiji. The strong pattern of recurring stimuli and the persistence of stimuli for Fiji provides evidence of a strong societal memory for the Fijian population as has been found in other countries [1-4]. This indicates that if the societal memory is not taken into account by Australian forces or other agencies, then unexpected behaviours may result from the population, having undesired effects on any operations.

One point of potential importance is the fact that the indigenous population has historically shown a great deal of respect for similar warrior cultures. The Tongans, for example, have historically exerted a great deal of influence in Fiji whenever they have been present. It is possible, therefore, that peace-keeping or military forces operating within Fiji may receive a more positive reaction from the population if they contain an element from similar Polynesian or Melanesian cultures.

The high level of historical hostilities between the Indigenous and Indian populations also suggests that violence may re-occur between these two groups in the future. There is also a potential for religious violence to occur between the two groups.

It should also be noted, however, that the two main ethnic groups can be expected to react to stimuli in vastly different ways. For example, the indigenous population has historically

reacted to stimuli with strong violence and aggression, whereas the Indo-Fijian population have tended toward less violent means – however this is always open to change depending on circumstance. Unresolved issues have been shown to destabilise Fijian government and military relations on many occasions and this is an ongoing issue for Fiji.

## 8. Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to examine and identify trends of population reactions to stimuli over a large period of time for Fiji. It has endeavoured to do this by identifying probable generic causes for the population reactions. This study has identified stimuli, key drivers, and the existence of a societal memory for the Fijian population. The key drivers found to elicit population reactions in Fiji were: desire for power, order or victory in war; jealousy; self preservation; land issues; and the warrior or fighting spirit of Fiji.

It is apparent that the Fijian stimuli are comparable in complexity to the other countries studied to date [1-4]. This is particularly noteworthy, considering the diverse histories and time frames of these studies. Both the complexity of the links and the persistence of causes indicates a strong societal memory similar to that found in East Timor, Aceh and the Solomon Islands. Fiji does not appear to have increasing event complexity as time progresses but does have a strong political/military instability over unresolved issues. In particular, this is driven by the strong respect for chiefs and the warrior culture. The outcomes of this work provide qualitative data for use in operations, wargames or training exercises and provide contextual information and guidance on socio-cultural issues for planners in multi agency operations in the region.

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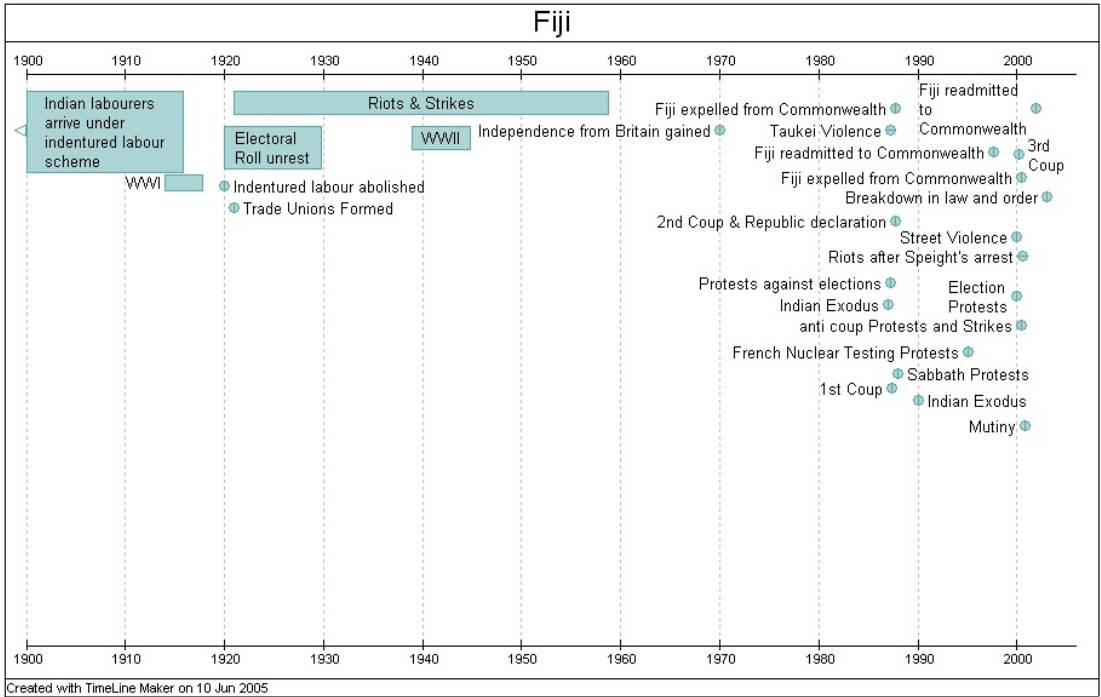
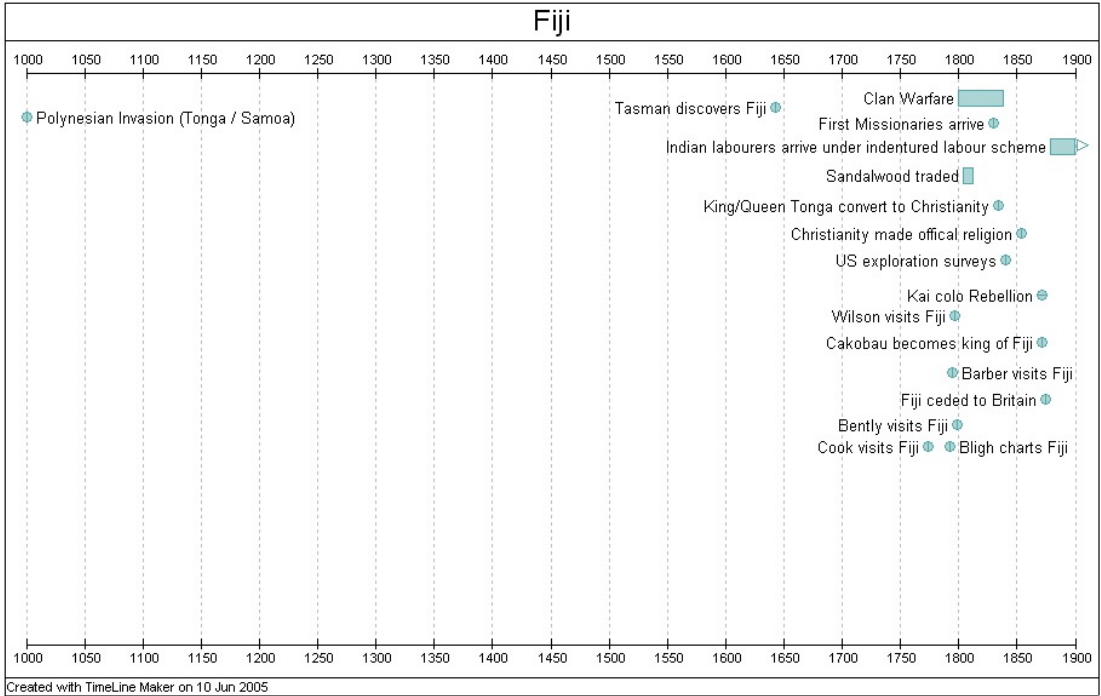
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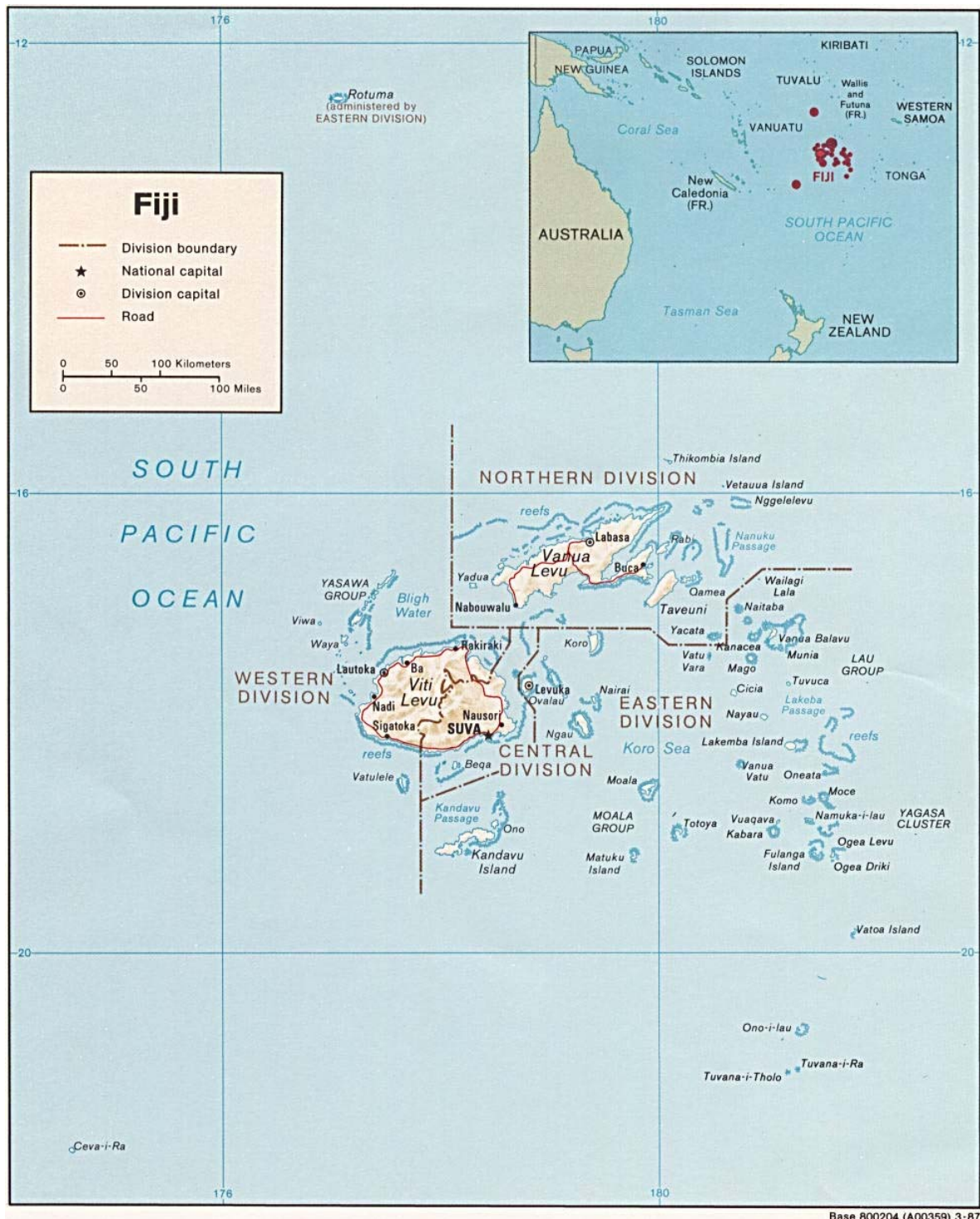
Appendix A: Timeline of Events





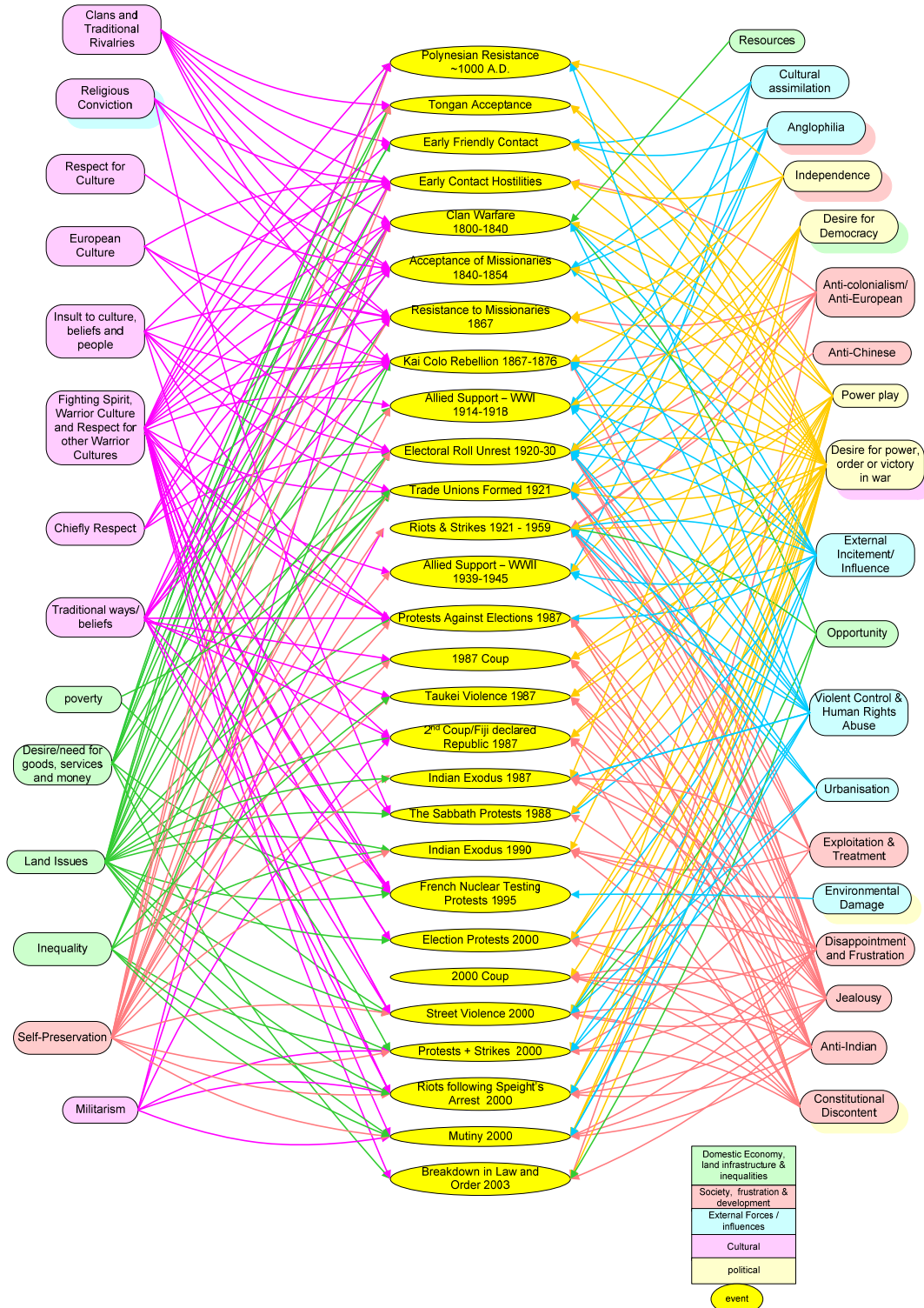
## Appendix B: Map of Fiji

The image below [27] shows the archipelago of Fiji as well as its proximity to Australia and surrounding islands.

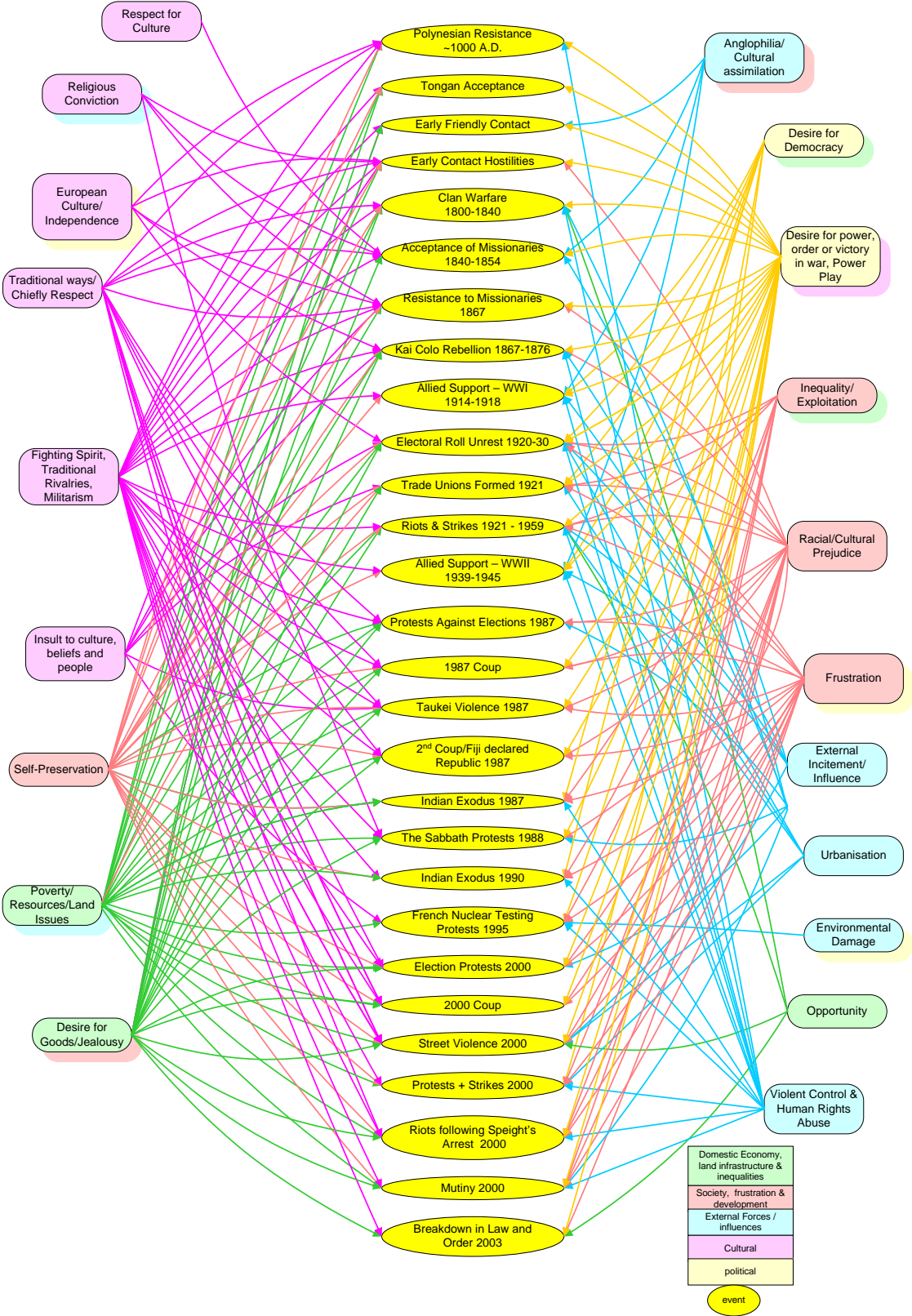


## Appendix C: Events and Stimuli

### C.1. Detailed Diagram of Stimuli and Events



C.2. Distilled Diagram of Stimuli and Events





### C.3. Relationships between Stimuli (Distilled)

	Desire for goods/Jealousy	Poverty/Resources/Land Issues	Self-Preservation	Racial/Cultural Prejudice	Frustration/Constitutional Discontent	Inequality/Exploitation	Anglophilia/Cultural Assimilation	Environmental Damage	External Incitement/Influence	Opportunity	Urbanisation	Violent Control / Human Rights Abuses	Trad. Ways/Chiefly Respect	Fighting Spirit etc	Insult to culture, beliefs and people	Religious Conviction	European Culture/Independence	Respect for Culture	Democracy	Power Play
Desire for goods/Jealousy																				
Poverty/Resources/Land Issues																				
Self-Preservation																				
Racial/Cultural Prejudice																				
Frustration/Constitutional Discontent																				
Inequality/Exploitation																				
Anglophilia/Cultural Assimilation																				
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Trad. Ways/Chiefly Respect																				
Fighting Spirit etc																				
Insult to culture, beliefs and people																				
Religious Conviction																				
European Culture/Independence																				
Respect for Culture																				
Democracy																				
Power Play																				

■ Strongly Dependent   
 ■ Dependent   
 ■ Somewhat Dependent

Note that the stimuli are not mutually exclusive and often are inter-related.

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19. ABSTRACT This study provides a baseline investigation for determining population reactions to stimuli in a historical context. Historical data analysis and qualitative data analysis techniques are applied to events of the last 1500 years in Fiji. Links and trends between events and stimuli are produced giving a preliminary dataset for any future trends impact analysis. In addition, some general population reactions for this country are established.					